



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

25 to 32 in the thirtieth chapter of Proverbs are expressed by ‘an ant, a coney, a locust, a spider, a river (symbol of motion), a lion, a greyhound, a he-goat and king, a man foolishly lifting himself to take hold of the heavens’. No doubt these symbols would help the reader to remember the proper order of the verses, but’ — observes Prof. Müller, and I shall not venture to differ with him on this point, — “they would be perfectly useless without a commentary or without a previous knowledge of the text.”

IX.—*Contributions to Creole Grammar.*

BY ADDISON VAN NAME,

LIBRARIAN OF YALE COLLEGE.

The Creole dialects which have grown out of different European languages grafted on African stock, though inferior in general interest to even the rudest languages of native growth, are in some respects well worth attention. The changes which they have passed through are not essentially different in kind, and hardly greater in extent than those, for instance, which separate the French from the Latin, but from the greater violence of the forces at work they have been far more rapid, and, what constitutes the peculiar interest of the case, the languages from which they have sprung are still living and are spoken side by side with them. Under ordinary conditions these changes proceed at so slow a pace as to become appreciable only at considerable intervals of time, but here two or three generations have sufficed for a complete transformation. The process has to be sure been mainly, but not altogether, one of decay; the extent of the loss has made some compensation necessary, and we find, if not many new formations, numerous instances of old material put to new uses. It is scarcely necessary to remark that these languages are not of mixed blood, half African and half European, for languages

do not mingle so readily as races. Even in the Creole vocabularies, the proportion of African words is very small. They have borrowed in general less from this source than from other foreign sources; less, for example, than the Creole French from the Spanish, a fact sufficiently accounted for by the great confusion of dialects among the imported slaves. Redpath enumerates in Hayti no less than thirty different tribes, and Oldendorp found in the Danish islands representatives of an almost equal number. Still more remote must be the influence of African on Creole grammar. It is rather in the phonetic structure of the Creole, in the dislike of an accumulation of consonants, the preference, especially marked in the Negro English of Surinam, for a final vowel, that such influence may with more likelihood be traced. The simplification of grammatical structure, on the other hand, which is characteristic of the Creole, arises rather from the general conditions of its growth than from the nationality of those who speak it.

Of the causes which have contributed to the formation of these dialects the chief are: first, the mature age of the slaves, who were brought from Africa at a time of life when the vocal organs are no longer flexible, and when the intellectual effort necessary for the mastery of a new language is even under the most favorable circumstances very considerable, and here quite out of the question; secondly, the fact that they constituted the great body of the population, the whites being in a minority seldom as large as one-fourth. The language spoken by the first generation of blacks was a broken French or Spanish, as the case might be, which, in the course of time, developed into a well defined Creole. It is a matter of surprise at first view that while the French Creole is so widely spread, in the Spanish islands, Cuba, San Domingo, Porto Rico, and Margarita, we find no Creole; but the difference in the relative numbers of the two races, the African and the European, affords a ready explanation; the blacks are here outnumbered by the whites. Pichardo, in the preface of his *Diccionario provincial de voces Cubanas*, 2 ed., Habana, 1849, makes the following statement: "A corrupt dialect is spoken in all parts of the island (Cuba) by the Negroes born in Africa,

which is uniform, no matter what the difference of race, and is retained through life, unless they came very young." He describes it as "a distorted and mutilated Spanish, without concord, number, declension, or conjugation, without strong *r*, final *s* or *d*, frequently exchanging *ll* for *ñ*, *e* for *i*, *g* for *v*, &c.; in fine, a jargon the more confused the more recent the arrival. It can nevertheless be understood by any Spaniard, apart from a few words, common to all, which require translation." This description accords nearly enough with the Creole Spanish of Curaçoa to show that we have here the beginning of proper Creole, but, for the reason given above, it has failed of development. Pichardo adds that the Creole Negroes, i. e., those born on the island, all speak the Spanish.

While these are the general conditions under which the Creole dialects have been formed, there seems to have been a difference in the readiness with which the several languages have taken on the Creole character. The French has taken root most easily, and is found not only in all the West India islands either now or formerly in the possession of France, but in some, e. g., Nevis and Montserrat, where its presence cannot be thus accounted for. The Spanish Creole is found only in the island of Curaçoa and its dependencies, Aruba and Bonaire, which were colonized by Spain, but for more than two centuries have been in the possession of the Dutch. This isolation from the influence of the mother tongue has not unlikely had a favorable influence on the growth of the Creole, since we find in Surinam, under circumstances somewhat similar, the only English Creole which deserves the name. The greater number and fullness of the vowels in Spanish, as compared with the French, which give the syllables a structure more nearly resembling that of the African languages, by making the Spanish easier to acquire, may have been less favorable to the Creole tendency, just as the fact that the English is already so thoroughly *creolized* in its grammar has undoubtedly been an obstacle to further progress in that direction.

The better to exhibit the nature of the Creole tendencies, and to show the working of them under a change of circum-

stances and upon different material, I have attempted to sketch very briefly the principal features of Creole grammar. The survey includes five dialects of the French Creole and the Spanish, to which I have added for the sake of comparison brief notices of the Dutch Creole, and the Negro English of Surinam. For the study of the Portuguese Creole, spoken by one tribe of Bush Negroes on the Upper Surinam, no printed materials exist. At this distance from the field in which the languages are spoken, very small addition to the stock of positive knowledge concerning them could be expected, and I have not been successful in all cases in obtaining the material which has been already collected. The more important part of the printed works I have perhaps had, and also in the case of three of the French dialects, the Spanish, and the Dutch Creole, the opportunity of gathering, from one or more individuals who spoke them, new material, so that though necessarily very incomplete the results reached may not be altogether without value.

FRENCH CREOLE.

This is not only the most widely spoken, but also in a philological point of view the most interesting of the dialects. "It is spoken not only by the Negroes and the colored people, but also by most of the white natives of Hayti, St. Bartholomew, Guadaloupe, Deseada, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, Grenada, Tobago (in one district only), and Trinidad." (Mr. J. J. Thomas, in Trübner's Lit. Record, Dec. 31, 1870.) To this list should be added Montserrat, Nevis, part of St. Martin's, and a considerable portion of the city population in St. Thomas. Besides this central territory it occupies in the east Mauritius, and in the west a part of Louisiana. The wider geographical limits of this dialect have given room for the growth of some varieties which are not without interest. The following is a list of the dialects included in the present sketch, with the authorities for each, printed and oral.

1. Hayti. *Manuel des habitans de Saint-Domingue, par S. J. Ducaeur-Joly*, Paris, 1802. Tome ii. (pp. 282-355) contains a *Vocabulaire Français et Créole*, according to the author the

first ever published, followed (pp. 357–391) by *Conversations Créoles*. This work is of especial interest as it furnishes in some sort a measure of the more recent progress of the Creole.

Guide to Hayti, edited by James Redpath, Boston, 1861, contains (pp. 131–135) a scheme of the Creole conjugation, and some general statements.

I have had also the opportunity of repeated conversations with a young man, who between the age of seven and fourteen (he is now eighteen) lived in Hayti, and has a good command of the Creole.

2. Trinidad. *Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*, by J. J. Thomas, Port of Spain (Trinidad), 1869, 8vo, pp. 134; the most extended and valuable work on the grammar of the language.

3. Martinique. *Les Bambous: Fables de La Fontaine, travesties en patois Créole* (by M. Marbot). *Nouv. éd. Fort-de-France (Martinique)*, 1869. 8vo, pp. 144.

Victor Schœlcher, in *Des Colonies Françaises*, Paris, 1842, gives (pp. 417–434) a collection of *proverbes et locutions nègres*, which represent the dialect either of Martinique or Gaudaloupe, or perhaps both, not taking account of minor differences. Mr. Thomas also, in his grammar, makes an occasional observation on these two dialects.

4. St. Thomas. For this dialect my authority has been a young man, Frederico Antonio Camps, recently from St. Thomas. He was born in Havana, but since his sixth year has lived in St. Thomas, and speaks, besides the French, also the Dutch and Spanish Creole, all three with great readiness. He has also visited nearly all the West India islands, and can speak from personal observation of the limits of the several dialects.

5. Louisiana. Here my materials have been gathered mainly from three individuals. Two of them until the recent war were slaves, one in the parish of St. Charles, about thirty miles west of New Orleans, the other about the same distance east, while the third had lived mostly in New Orleans. Of the first two the Creole was the native language, and one of them, up to the time when he left the South, spoke only that.

For a few facts respecting the Mauritius Creole I am indebted to a notice of that dialect by Mr. Walter Besant, in the *Athenæum* of Dec. 31, 1870.

While the Creole of each dialect approximates to a uniform standard, there is, as we should expect, far more of variation than in languages which have had a more natural growth. Especially the contact with the French, which has never entirely ceased, has been a disturbing influence and a source of corruption, for the standard of Creole purity is to be sought at the farthest remove from the French, where the Creole tendencies are most fully developed. From the presence of these intermediate forms, representing different stages in the Creole progress, a brief outline like the present must necessarily be a very incomplete statement of the forms actually in use.

In the matter of orthography, there being no settled usage among the few writers of Creole, I have tried to keep in view the fact that the Creole is purely a spoken language, and final consonants which have become silent I have usually not written, especially where they convey to the eye (like the plural *s*) distinctions which no longer exist. I have also taken the liberty of modifying the orthography of the authorities used, in order not to separate by a difference of spelling, forms which are identical in sound; but in doing this, there has been, I hope, no loss of accuracy. Apart from the use of *ch* and *j* to represent the English sounds of *ch* and *j* in *choose*, *join*, the occasional use of *k*, and of *ô* for the open sound of *o* (like *ou* in *ought*, but somewhat shorter), only the ordinary resources of French orthography have been employed.

PHONETIC CHANGES.

1. Vowel Changes, of which the following are the more important. The Creole has a special dislike of the indistinct *e muet*, and where the syllable is not dropped altogether, substitutes for it usually *i*; thus *dimain* (*demain*). Not unfrequently it suffers attraction from the vowel of the following syllable; thus *lévé* (*lever*), *soucouré* (*secourir*); sometimes the dialects follow a different course; thus Mart., Trin., *douboute* (*debout*), elsewhere *diboute*; Mart. *bousouin*, elsewhere

bisoin. Before *v* it may pass into *ou*; thus *douvant* (*devant*), *chouval* (*cheval*) Louis. *çoil*.

U and *ui* usually become *i*; thus *pli* (*plus*), *ri* (*rue*), *li* (*lui*), *dibri* (*du bruit*); but *touyé* (*tuer*), Trin. *choulé* (*reculer*), elsewhere *kilé*; Trin. *jiré* (*jurer*), Mart. *jouré*, Louis. *zouré*; Hayti *couzine* (*cuisine*), elsewhere *kizine*; *louïle* (*huile*).

Eu and its orthographic variation *œu* at the end of a syllable become *é*; thus *difé* (*du feu*), *pé* (*peut*); but where a following *r* has become silent, *è*; thus *pè* (*peur*). Before a consonant it is *è* or *e*; as *nèf* (*neuf*), *bef* (*bœuf*).

Oi sometimes retains its French sound; as in *dibois* (*du bois*), but more commonly becomes *ouè* or *oué*; thus *douette* (*doigt*), *chouési* (*choisir*); sometimes *e*, as *drette* and *drouette* (*droit*).

A final vowel preceded by a nasal consonant, *n* or *m*, frequently becomes itself nasal. This tendency is strongest in Trinidad; thus *aimèn*, *mènèn* (*aimer*, *mener*); it appears also in Mart., as *menneïn* (*mener*), *neïn* (*nez*), and in Louis. after *n mouillé* (which is not heard as a consonant, but only makes the preceding vowel nasal); thus *ganien* (*gagner*), *conien* (*cogner*), *peinien* (*peigner*), *panien* (*panier*), and a faint nasalization in some other cases, as *limeïn* and *laimé* (*aimer*). Even in Hayti, it is found, as in most of the dialects, in the pers. pron. *moïn* (*moi*). In this tendency to nasalization we may perhaps recognize an African trait, since it has found its way into the Spanish, English and Dutch Creole, where a final *n* or *m* frequently has lost its consonant power, making the preceding vowel nasal. In one class of words, however, the vowel has lost the nasal character which it possessed in French, namely, in most French verbs in *-ndre*, thus *vanne* (*vendre*).

Consonant Changes. French *ch* and *j*, and *g* before *e* and *i*, in Louisiana, especially in the parish of St. Charles, and in Mauritius, frequently exchange the sounds *sh* and *zh* for *s* and *z*; thus, St. Charles, *çappé* (*échapper*), *çose* (*chose*), *cimin* (*chemin*); Mauritius, *civé* (*cheveux*), *çaque* (*chaque*). Before an *a* or *o* vowel the change does not always take place; thus *chaud*, *chien*, *charbon*; some words, as *çapeau* (also pronounced *chapeau*), appear to be in a state of transition. The change of *j*

and *g* (before *e* and *i*) to *z* is more uniform; thus, St. Charles *zôrdi* (*aujourd'hui*), *fromaze* (*fromage*); Maur. *zardin* (*jardin*). In Hayti and Trinidad, *g* of the termination *age* passes into the vowel *i*; thus *fromai*, *baggaï* (*fromage*, *baggage*). Only one of my Louisiana authorities made the above changes at all regularly, the others only in individual words.

S before an *i* vowel (*i*, *u*, &c.) passes occasionally, in Louisiana into *sh* (Fr. *ch*); thus *dichic* (*sucre*); in *chongé* (*songer*) the change is produced by assimilation to *g* (*zh*) in the following syllable. English *ch* (*tsh*) and *j* (*dzh*) appear in the Creole, developed out of a palatal (and in some cases a dental) mute followed by an *i* vowel. This change is most frequent in Trinidad, where it is found in *chuite* (*cuite*), *chinze* (*quinze*), *chéchin* (*quelqu'un*), and other words which elsewhere are free from it. In Louisiana but a few words are thus affected; thus *chiré* (*tirer*), *chué* (*tuer*), *chilotte* (*culotte*). It is found in all the dialects in one word *chumbo* or *chémbé* (from *tiens bon* or *tiens bien*), and in St. Thomas this is the only instance of its occurrence that I have detected. In the remaining dialects also the examples are few. The corresponding sonant *j* appears in all the dialects in *jôle* (*gueule*), and in some other words less uniformly.

These sounds, *ch* and *j*, we shall distinguish in the present paper from the French *ch* and *j* by the use of a heavy-faced type. In the Spanish Creole also the same sound of *j* will be similarly represented.

R is a weak letter which suffers more or less change and loss in all the dialects, but on the whole shows most weakness in Trinidad; and least in Louisiana and St. Thomas. As a final it is heard faintly in some words in Louisiana, but apparently in none of the other dialects. In Trinidad when it follows a labial and is itself followed by any other vowel than *o* it passes into *ou*; if followed by *o* it may be lost altogether; thus *pouï* (*prix*), *fofé* (*frotter*). In Hayti and Martinique it shows very nearly the same weakness. *R* sometimes suffers transposition; thus *dromi* (*dormir*), *crobeau* (*corbeau*), Louis.; *rade* (*hardes*), Hayti and Mart.; *radi* (*hardi*); *derô* (*dehors*), Mart.

Contrary to the general tendency of the Creole as well as of the French to cast off final consonants, the Creole has in some cases recovered a final consonant, especially *t*, which in French is heard only when the following word begins with a vowel; thus, *ratte* (*rat*, the *t* of which does not regularly pass to the following vowel), Hayti, Mart., St. Th.; *lette* (*lait*), Louis., Hayti; *douette* (*doigt*), Trin., Hayti, Louis.; *diboute*, Louis., *douboute*, Mart. (*debout*); *canote*, Hayti; *valette*, Mart. In Mart. we find also *trope* (*trop*). To this same preference for a stronger ending is due the choice of the feminine instead of the masculine form of several adjectives; thus *coute* (*court*), *drette* or *douette* (*droit*).

The Creole has an apparent dislike of an initial vowel, and in nouns almost always avoids it by prefixing some form of the article. In verbs the same tendency sometimes shows itself; thus, *aimer* is in Louisiana *laimé* or *limein*, in Hayti (Ducœur-Joly) *haimé*; *ouvrir* in Hayti is *louwoui*.

In compound words, especially in verbs of three or more syllables, a prefix preposition frequently falls away; thus *reté* (*arreter*), *touné* (*retourner*), *mandé* (*demander*).

GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

ARTICLES. The French definite article has entirely lost its force in the Creole, though it remains attached to many nouns as an inseparable prefix. In its place the Creole has made of the demonstrative adverb *là* (from Lat. *illac*, as *le* from *ille*,) a postpositive article, which however retains somewhat more of the original demonstrative force than *le*, and is therefore not used in all cases where the French employs the definite article. To this prevailing usage the dialect of Mauritius forms an exception. Here the French definite article, though an inseparable prefix of many nouns as in the other dialects, has also retained its position and force, but has only a single form *li* (*le*) for both genders and numbers.

The indefinite article, also less used than in French, is *yon* in Trin., Mart. and St. Th.; *ein* (with the sound of *ein* in *hein* or of *in* in *vin*) in Louis. and Mauritius; *youne* (Ducœur-Joly, *nion*) in Hayti. The numeral 'one' is in Trin., Mart., St. Th.,

yone; in Louis. and Hayti it is not distinguished from the indefinite article.

Both the indefinite and definite articles are invariable in respect to gender, but the latter, in some of the dialects, by composition with the personal pronoun third plural forms a plural which will be considered hereafter.

NOUNS. With the loss of gender in the article, grammatical gender has disappeared also in the noun. Difference of sex is expressed in some cases by independent words, though the number of such words employed is much smaller than in French, and less in some dialects than in others; thus *nomme* (*homme*), *femme*, a few words denoting human relationships, as *frè*, *sè* (*frère*, *sœur*), and a few names of animals. In the case of most animals a word denoting sex is prefixed, usually *male*, *finelle*, but sometimes a more specific word; thus *bouc-cabouite* 'he-goat' (Trin.), *macou-chatte* 'tom-cat' (Trin., St. Thos.). In Trinidad, where the female has borne young, *maman* is used in place of *finelle*; as *maman-chatte* 'she-cat'. In Hayti, besides *vache*, we have *bef-lette* (*bœuf à lait*) 'cow'. Feminine terminations have preserved their vitality only in a few nouns; thus *nègue*, *nègresse*; *milate*, *milatresse*; *cousin*, *cousine*, in all the dialects; *dansè* (*danseur*), fem. *dansèse* in Trinidad; but in Hayti and St. Thomas, *dansèse*, and in Louisiana, *dansè*, are each of common gender, and we must distinguish by prefix, *nomme dansèse*, *femme dansèse*. This ending *èse* has in Trinidad supplanted in two or three cases the ending *ière*; thus *lavandèse* (*lavandière*), which is found also in St. Thomas. Somewhat similar is Trin. *amise* (*amie*). In Hayti from *codenne* 'turkey-cock' (*coq-d'inde*) we have a feminine *codine* 'turkey-hen.'

Plural inflections have disappeared from the Creole as they have in great measure from the French, where the ordinary plural ending *s* is heard only when the following word begins with a vowel. In the Spanish Creole also, and in the Negro English of Surinam, the plural has been lost, although neither the Spanish nor the English ending *s* shares the weakness of the French. Practically the *spoken* French, which alone has influenced the Creole, distinguishes the plural by the article

les when definite, *des* when indefinite. The Creole gives up the distinction in the case of indefinite nouns, and for definite nouns employs in Trinidad and Martinique a construction which is purely French; it places, namely, the weak demonstrative *ces* before and *la* after the noun; thus, *nomme la* 'the man', *ces nomme la* 'the men.' But in Hayti, St. Thomas, and Louisiana, we have a more original method; the pers. pron. 3. plur. (*eux*) is added to *la*, giving in St. Thomas *yo la*, in Hayti *layo*, and in Louisiana *layé* or *lâi*; thus *nomme layé* 'the men'. It is a very interesting fact that in the Spanish and English Creole, and for the most part in the Dutch Creole also, we have the definite plural formed in a similar way, by means of the personal pronoun.

Among the most curious features of the Creole are the numerous cases of agglutination of the French article with a following noun, the same which we have in Fr. *lierre* from Lat. *hedera*. Nouns having an initial vowel offer the readiest attachment to such a prefix, and very few such nouns are without it. The desire to escape the initial vowel-sound seems in fact to have been one of the chief motives of it. We find thus employed both the indefinite and definite article, and the latter both in the masculine and feminine, singular and plural. The choice is of course mainly determined by the frequency with which one or other form has occurred in connection with the noun, but partly also by phonetic considerations. The different dialects also have individual peculiarities. Instances of such a union of the indefinite article with the noun are not common; *nomme* (*homme*) is found in all the dialects; *nanné* (*année*) in Trinidad and Louisiana (but Hayti, Mart., *lanné*); *name* (*âme*) Trin., Mart., St. Th.; *ninime* (*énigme*) Trin.; *namé* (*armée*) Mart.; *nouvrier* (*ouvrier*), *nab* (*arbre*), *népingue* (*épingle*), *nejuî* (*aiguille*) Louis. (elsewhere usually *zépingue*, *zéguî* or *zéjuî*). Ducœur-Joly gives in several cases two forms, as *nomme*, *zomme*; *népron*, *zépron* (*éperon*); and in one case three, *lain*, *nain*, *zain* (*ain*). In *nonc* (*oncle*), for which in Trin. we have *mounonc*, as in Eng. *nuncle*, *n* comes from the poss. pronom. adjective, *mon oncle*.

In the case of the singular definite article the distinction

between the masculine and the feminine vanishes before an initial vowel, and the Creole in these composite forms shows no preference for one gender above the other; thus *largent* (*argent*), *louse* (*ours*), *lidé* (*idée*), *louïle* (*huile*). Before an initial consonant the case is different, and here, while the feminine *la* is very frequent and found in all the dialects, the masculine *li* (*le*) appears only in Mauritius; thus *lapli* (*pluie*), *laline* (*lune*), *latè* (*terre*), and (Maur.) *lichien* (*chien*). The masculine article is avoided here doubtless because it would coincide in form with the pers. pron. 3. sing. *li* (*lui*). Mr. Thomas gives a list of seven masculine nouns which in Trinidad have the fem. article prefixed; as, *la restant* 'remainder'. In the partitive form *du*, the masc. article appears in the following words in most if not all the dialects; *divin* (*vin*), *dithé* (*thé*), *difé* (*feu*), *diri*, *douri* (*riz*); and in Louisiana in quite a number of others; as, *disic* or *dichic* (*sucré*), *dichou* (*chou*), *dibri* (*bruit*), &c. Of the fem. sing. partitive the only instances observed are *dlo* or *dolo* (*eau*), and (in Louis.) *dilouïle* (*huile*); before a consonant the additional syllable required, *dila* (*de la*), would be too burdensome.

The plural article is of frequent occurrence before an initial vowel, to which the final consonant only of the article attaches itself; thus *zami* (*amis*); *zombi* (*ombres*) 'ghost'; Louis., Maur., *zozo*, Hayti, St. Th., Mart., *zouézo* (*oiseaux*); *zhé* (*yeux*). So far as the Creole form is concerned the *z* might be referred equally well to *les* or to *des*; in most cases we may admit a joint influence, with some words *les*, with others *des* being oftener used. We must also add doubtless in some cases the pronominal adjectives *mes*, *ses*, so that *zami*, for example, represents *les amis*, *des amis*, *mes amis*, &c. In Louisiana a few nouns take the full prefix *des*; thus *dézef* (*œuf*); *dézo* (*os*); *dézoï* (*oie*); *déra* (*rat*). Two or three examples will illustrate the difference of form which in the case of some words prevails in the different dialects and sometimes within the same dialect. Thus we have for Fr. *étoile*, in Louis. *latuelle* and *létoile*, in Hayti and St. Th. *zétuelle*; for Fr. *œuf*, in Hayti *zef*, *zé*, in Mart. *zé*, (Schœlcher, *zef*), in Louis. *dézef*, *zé*; for Fr. *rat*, in Louis. *déra*, in Mart., St. Th., Hayti, *ratte*; for Fr. *os*,

in Louis. *dezo* and *zos*, elsewhere *zo*. Nouns having an initial vowel show in some dialects a preference for the plural, in others for the singular article. The following enumeration is only approximatively correct, and an examination of the entire vocabularies of the dialects might give a quite different result. The preference for the plural is most strongly marked in Hayti. In Ducœur-Joly they outnumber the singulars in the ratio of 10 to 1 (40 and 4), but additions obtained orally reduce the ratio to that of 4 to 1; in Thomas's Grammar (Trinidad) the ratio is 2 to 1 (30 and 15), and about the same in St. Thomas; in Louisiana I have observed about an equal number of singulars and plurals, and in "Les Bambous" (Martinique) the singulars are in excess, 35 to 20. A comparison however of a definite list of words found in all the dialects would show less divergence. The instances in which the fem. sing. *la* is attached to an initial consonant are most numerous in Martinique (40 in "Les Bambous") and Louisiana, fewest in Hayti and St. Thomas.

The French article when it has thus become a constant element of the Creole noun loses, of course, not simply its definite force but also its power of marking number and gender; thus, in Louis. *déra*, when indefinite, is either 'rat' or 'rats'; *ein déra*, *dé déra*, 'one rat', 'two rats'; but *déra la*, 'the rat', *déra layé*, 'the rats.'

ADJECTIVES. "There is," says Mr. Thomas, "a distinct though ill sustained attempt at gender inflection, especially in the case of adjectives describing the qualities of human beings." The number of such inflected adjectives is however exceedingly small and confined apparently to certain derivatives in which the force of the termination is still felt. Mr. Thomas instances: (a) French gentiles in *-ais*, *-aise*, Creole *é*, *èse*; thus *anglé*, *anglèse*, *fouancé*, *fouancèse*; but *pôtijé* *écossé*, *ilandé*, are not usually inflected in Trinidad, evidently because they are less used and the distinction is less important. In St. Thomas these are all inflected, but not the less strongly marked feminines of *américain*, *italien*, &c.: (b) Adjectives in *-eur*, *-euse*, Creole *è*, *èse*; thus, *flatté*, *flattèse*: (c) Adjectives in *-in*, *-ine*; thus *cochin*, *cochine*, (*coquin*, *coquine*): (d) Adjectives in *-x*, *-se*; thus *-malhéré*, *malhèrèse*.

In one or two cases I have found parallel forms elsewhere, e. g. *coquin*, *coquanne*, in St. Thomas, but in general the distinction is lost, and the adjective practically without inflection.

Where the French has distinct forms for both the masculine and feminine adjective the Creole has chosen sometimes the one, sometimes the other as the common representative. The following appear in all the dialects in the masculine form; *bon*, *fô* (*fort*), *grand*, *gros*, Trin. *gouô*, *gras*, *gris*, *lou* (*lourd*), *nêf* (*neuf*). The following are uniformly in the feminine: *belle*, *coute* (*courte*), *drette*, *douette* (*droite*), *frette*, *fouette* (*froide*), *laide*, *nette*, *soude* (*sourde*). Others are divided in form; thus, *blanc* in all the dialects except that of Hayti, where *blanc* is 'white man' and the adj. 'white' is *blanche*; *pouêse* (*épais*) only in Hayti, elsewhere *épé*; *dou* and *douce* in Martinique, elsewhere only *dou*; *molle*, Trin. and St. Th., *mou*, Hayti and Louis.; *frai*, Trin. and St. Th., *fraiche*, Hayti and Louis.; *toute*, Trin., Hayti, *tou*, Louis., in Mart. and St. Th., both forms; *longue*, Trin. and St. Th., *long*, Hayti and Louis. In the following cases a different meaning is assigned to each of the two forms occurring in the same dialect; Trin. *fin* 'fine', *fine* 'slender', in Hayti and Louis. both forms are used indifferently, in St. Th. and Mart. *fin*; Trin. *sec* 'curt, crisp', *chèce* 'dry' (not wet), St. Th. *sec* 'dry', *chèce* 'dry chips', Hayti *chèche* 'thirsty', Mart. *chesse* 'thirsty', Louis. *sec* 'dry'; *piti*, frequently shortened to *ti*, is 'small', but in St. Thomas we have also *pitile* 'child'.

Mr. Thomas observes that where a noun and adjective have been taken from the French not separately but in combination, the adjective may retain its French form, and instances *tabe ouônde* 'round table', *chandelle ouômaine* 'Roman candle', the adjectives having elsewhere the form *ouônd*, *ouômain*.

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES. The comparative is formed as in French by *pli* (*plus*) and *moênce* (*moins*), the latter not often used. The objects compared are connected generally by *passé*, sometimes by *qui* or *qué* (*que*). Where *passé* is employed the positive alone is sufficient; thus, *pli grand passé ça* or *grand passé ça*, in all the dialects. In place of *passé*

we may have in Hayti and Louis. *qui*, in St. Th. *qué* (*que*). The comparative of *bon* is in Trin. *mèiè* or *pli bon*; in Mart. we have more commonly the double comparative *pli mié*, in St. Th. *pli mèiè*, in Louis. *pli bon*, *pli mèiè*, in Hayti *miyôr*, *pli miyôr*, *pli bon*. The superlative is either not distinguished from the comparative or is expressed by some such method as the following: (St. Th.) *ça c'est pli mèiè passé toute*, or *qué toute*.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS. 1. sing. Trin., Mart. *moîn*; St. Th., Maurit., *mo*; elsewhere two forms are employed, one for the subject when not emphatic, the other for the emphatic subject and the object; in Hayti (Ducœur-Joly) *mo*, emphat. *moué*, (Redpath) *mon*, *m'*, emphat. *moué*, (oral) *moîn*, *m'*; in Louisiana *mo*, emphat. *moîn*. The final vowel is made nasal through the influence of the preceding *m*.

2. sing. Trin. *ou*; Mart. *to* or *ou*; St. Th. *ou*; Hayti (Duc-Joly) *to*, emphat. *toué*, present usage *ou*; Louis. *to*, emphat. *toi*, or *ou*; Maurit. *to*, *vou*.

3. sing. (both masc. and fem.) *li*, Trin. also *'i*.

1. plur. *nou*.

2. plur. Trin., Mart. *zôt*; Hayti *ou*; St. Th. *ou* or *zôt*; Louis. *vou*, *vouzôt*.

3. plur. Louis. *yé*, elsewhere *yo*.

These are derived from Fr. *moi*, *toi*, *lui*, *nous*, *vous*, *vous autres*, *eux*.

The choice of the accusative instead of the nominative forms of the personal pronoun is characteristic also to a great extent of the other Creole dialects. In the French itself we have the beginning of this usage in the employment of *moi*, *toi*, *lui*, *eux*, in the emphatic repetition of the subject. The motive for this change lies in the fact that the subject pronoun came gradually to be regarded as a necessary adjunct of the verb, and with the loss of independence was also weakened in form. The process has recommenced in the Creole, where *moi*, *toi*, are, when they stand before the verb, shortened to *mo*, *to*, and before a vowel to *m'*, *t'*.

Instead of the possessive pronominal adjectives, the Creole, except in Louisiana, and perhaps Mauritius, employs the per-

sonal pronouns. When used attributively, they are in Trin., Mart., St. Thomas, simply placed, like any other attributive case, after the noun; thus, *liv li* 'his book'. This is also the present usage in Hayti, but Ducœur-Joly inserts the preposition *à*; thus *zami à li yo* 'his friends'. This latter method is employed also, according to Mr. Thomas, in Guadeloupe; in Schœlcher we find both forms; thus, *bouche à ou* 'your mouth', *daite ou* 'your finger'. In Louisiana, however, the French pronom. adjectives have kept their place, though hardly distinguished in form, except in the 3. sing., from the pronouns. They are *mo*, *to*, *son* or *so*, *no*, *vo*, *yè*; thus, *mo liv*, 'my book'.

The predicate form is in Trin. *cela-moin*, in Mart. *Guadal. ta-moin* (abbreviated from *c'est à moi*); in Hayti, *pa moin* and *pou moin*; in St. Thomas, *pa mo* and *cela mo*; in Louis. *pou moin*. *Pou* is the preposition *pour*; *pa* is perhaps *part*, since we find in Ducœur-Joly *avla part ayo* 'theirs'. He uses also another form of the predicate, which he writes both *tien à toué* and *quien à toué*, probably to represent the sound *chien*, evidently the last syllable of *appartient*, as *pa* used above may possibly be the second; thus, *mal à vou li arien coté tien à li* 'your suffering is nothing in comparison with his'.

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives. The distinction between the nearer and more remote demonstrative, between 'this' and 'that', is not in general clearly marked in Creole. In Trin. we have for the first, *cela-la* or *çala* following the noun, and for the plural the same preceded by *ces*; thus, *zombi cela-la* 'this ghost', *ces zombi cela-la* 'these ghosts'; for the second, only the weak demonstrative which serves also as the definite article; thus, *nomme la* 'that man', *ces jou la* 'those days'. In Hayti (Ducœur-Joly) we have for the adjective 'this' and 'that' *la*, plur. *layo*, for the pronoun *ça* or *cila-la*, plur. *cila-yo*; I have found also *ça* or *cela*, plur. *cela-yo*, used for the adjective. In St. Th. we have *cé liv* 'this book', *cé liv yo* 'these books', *liv la* 'that book', *liv yo la* 'those books'; in Louis. *liv ça* and *liv cila-la* 'this' or 'that book', *liv layé* 'these' or 'those books'. In Martinique we find *tala* 'that' (abbreviated from *l'aut la*?) and the plural as in Trinidad; thus, *ces gens la* 'those persons.'

Relative and Interrogative Pronouns. The relative 'who' is commonly *qui*; 'he who', *ça qui*; 'which', *ça* or *qui*; 'that which', 'what', *ça*, *ça qui*, and in St. Th. also *qui ça*. The passing of a demonstrative into a relative is of common occurrence in other languages, and is seen, for example, in Germ. *der*, Dutch *die*, Eng. *that*. In the case of *ça* it arose probably from the use of the compound form *qui ça*, the *qui* being afterwards dropped.

The forms of the interrogatives are not usually distinct from the relatives, but *qui moun* (*monde*) is very generally used for 'who'? *quilece* (*quel est-ce*) Trin., Mart., St. Th., for 'which'? *Ça* is also interrogative 'what?'; thus, *ça ça yé* 'what is that?' (Mart.).

For the reflexive pronoun *corps* is frequently employed in place of *même*; thus, *jidé* (*aider*) *corps-ou épis lôte 'a jidé ou* 'help yourself and others will help you', (Hayti). *Même* is still employed to add emphasis to the subject; thus, *li même fai li* 'he did it himself', and in Louis. and St. Th. is preferred also for the reflexive.

VERBS. The verb offers the best field for the development of the Crèole tendencies because the French verb as compared with the other parts of speech has preserved a large number of inflections. The destructive, and by way of compensation, the constructive power of the Creole is therefore here best seen. In general it may be said that the verb has lost all inflections and is reduced to a single form. The distinction of person and number is left to the subject, that of tense and mode is expressed solely by means of auxiliaries. The choice of this form has been determined of course not by any abstract consideration of the fitness of one form above another, e. g. the infinitive, to represent the idea of the verb without limitation, but simply by the frequency of its occurrence and the strength of the impression it has made on the ear. The usual statement, which Mr. Thomas also adopts, is that the Creole verb is the French infinitive, but though more weight is doubtless to be ascribed to this than to any other one form of the verb it is hardly correct to claim for it the whole influence. In the most numerous class

of French verbs, those in *er*, the past participle, one of the forms of most frequent occurrence from its use in the compound tenses, coincides with the infinitive, as would also in the Creole pronunciation certain parts of the imperfect and past definite. In the regular verbs in *ir* the case is very much the same. Final *r* has become silent generally in Creole (just as in French infinitives in *er*), and here also the infinitive, participle, and past definite would be identical in form. In verbs in *re*, whether regular or irregular, the infinitive and past participle are somewhat widely separated, and here the Creole has chosen sometimes the latter, but commonly the former, a choice determined in part perhaps by the general agreement between the present indicative and the infinitive in these verbs. To these considerations must be added another of more positive character, the fact that the simple tense of the Creole verb is, with a few exceptions, not a present but a past; *moïn mangé* is not 'I am eating' but 'I ate.' These appear to be sufficient reasons for assigning to the participle a considerable influence upon the Creole verb, and apart from phonetic considerations it is better to write *mangé* rather than *manger* because the former may more fitly represent both infinitive and participle.

Verbs of the first French conjugation, in *er*, present scarcely any irregularities. Mr. Thomas gives two instances of what he calls conversions of an indicative into an infinitive, in verbs of this class, viz. in *bailler* 'give', which except in Louisiana has taken the place of *donner*, and *travailler* 'work', the Creole forms of which are *ba* or *baï* and *travaï*. But the shortening is here evidently caused by the *l mouillé*, just as in the Spanish Creole *cavallo* becomes *cabaï*. From *aller*, besides the regular form *allé* we have *va* and *'a* as auxiliaries of the future, and the imperative *annon*, *anno* (*allons*), shortened sometimes to *an*; thus, *an nou fai ça* 'let us do this.' Expressions like *tempouï* (*je t'en prie*), which the speakers no longer analyze, are hardly to be considered exceptions. In the specimens of Mauritius Creole given by Mr. Besant, however, such forms as *pouss'*, *guett'*, occur along with *guetté*, but these specimens are

hardly to be received as pure Creole according to the definition of the term before given.

Verbs of the remaining French conjugations in *re*, *oir*, and *ir*, the majority of which are strong, or irregular, especially in the participle, receive a less uniform treatment. We have sometimes two forms in use in the same dialect, and between the different dialects there is frequent want of agreement. The following are uniform in all the dialects, i. e. they are everywhere derived from the same part of the French verb, and differ, if at all, only in the minor phonetic peculiarities which belong to one or the other dialect.

a. Forms which combine the infinitive and participle, and, in some cases, still other parts of the French verb: *dî* (*dire*), *écri* (*écrire*), *li* (*lire*), *ri* (*rire*), *bouilli* (*bouillir*), *couri*, *cououi* (*courir*), *dômi*, *dromi* (*dormir*), *menti* (*mentir*), *parti* (*partir*), *senti* (*sentir*), *servi* (*servir*), *sorti* (*sortir*), *vini* (*venir*).

b. Forms in which the French infinitive and certain parts of the indicative present are united: *attanne* (*attendre*), *craïne* (*craindre*), *fanne* (*fendre*), *fône* (*fondre*), *joène* (*joindre*), *plaine* (*plaindre*), *pône* (*pondre*), *ranne* (*rendre*), *repône* (*repondre*), *batte* (*battre*), *coude* (*coudre*), *boi*, *bouè* (*boire*), *coi*, *couè* (*croire*) (Ducœur Joly gives the form *crére*), *ouè*, *vouè*, *oua* (*voir*). The above verbs in *ndre* lose both *d* and *r*; the *n* however recovers its consonant power. But in *pren* (*prendre*) the vowel remains nasal, unless perhaps in Trinidad. (Thomas writes both *pouende* and *pouend*.)

c. Indicative forms: *fau* (*faut*), *vau* (*vaut*), *vlé*, Louis. *woulé* (*voulez*), *pé* (*peut*), *doé* (*doit*).

The following table exhibits most of the important variations found in the form of individual verbs. In the dialects of Martinique and Hayti, where Schœlcher and Ducœur-Joly use a second form along with that given by the other authorities, it is marked by *s* or *D*; where they use only a different form it is enclosed in a parenthesis.

	TRIN.	MART.	HAYTI.	ST. THOS.	LOUIS.	MAURIT.
connaître	connaite	connaite (S. connaît)	coné	connaite	connaite	conné
cuire	ch uite	cuite	couite D. coui	couite	ch oui ch ouite	

faire	fè, faite	fè, faite	fè	fè	fè	fè
défaire	défaite	difaite		difaite	difaite	
entendre	tanne	tanne	tendé	tanne tendé	tendé	tendé
frire	foui	fri	foui	friyé	friyé fri	
mettre	métté	metté mette	mété	mette metté	mété	
promettre	promette	promette	promi (D. promette prometté)	premette	promi promé	
commettre	commi	commette				
démettre	dèmi dèmi			démette	démétté	
mordre	môdé mode	môdé S. môde	modé	môdé	môdé	
moudre				moulé	moulé	
peindre			peinti	peintiré	peintiré	
perdre	pèdi	pèdi S. pède	pèdi (D. perde)	pède	perdi	
suiivre	souive			sivé	sivé souive	
s'asseoir	assise	assise (S. chita)	chita (D. sitta, synta)	assise sisé	assise assite	sisé
savoir	sa save	save sa	savé	save savé, sai		
couvrir	couvè	couvè (couvoui)	couvoui	couvè	couvri	
ouvrir	ouvè	ouvè (ouvoui)	louvoui	ouvè	ouvri	
souffrir	souffè souffoui	souffri	souffoui	souffri	souffri	
mourir	mô	mouri mô	mouri mô	mouri mô	mouri	
tenir	tini, tni, tienne	tini, ni, tienne	tini	tini tien		

Where two forms are found in the same dialect there is sometimes, though not usually, a distinction in the use; thus in Trin., Mart., St. Th., *tini* is 'to have' while *tienne* preserves the proper signification of *tenir* 'to hold or to keep'. In Hayti and St. Th. *mô* has hardly more than an adjective force, 'dead'. In St. Th. *tendé* is present (probably from the frequent use of the phrase *entendez-vous?*), while *tanne* is past.

Such forms as *môdé*, *metté*, *soucouré*, which are found in the dialect of Trinidad, and which correspond neither to infinitives or to participles, Mr. Thomas regards as imperatives (*mordez*, &c.), but when we add other similar forms from the preceding table, as *friyé*, *moulé*, *promé*, *peintiré*, *sivé*, *sisé*,

and still others, as *choisé*, *conténé* (St. Th.), *rompé* (Louis.), *couyé* (*cueillir*) (Hayti), *chiré* (*traire*) which has in Louis. become identical in form with *chiré* (*tirer*), the explanation, though admissible perhaps in some cases, does not meet all. These forms are for the most part due rather to attraction on the part of the more numerous class of verbs in *é* (first Fr. conjugation, in *er*), a change similar to that of the strong to the weak conjugation, of Lat. *cedere* and *corrigere* to Fr. *céder* and *corriger*.

In the foregoing table we find regular participial forms; as *commi*, *démi*, *couvè* (*couvert*), *ouvè*, *souffè*, *pèdi* (*perdu*), *mô* (*mort*); a few feminine participles, as *assize*, *cuite*, *faite*, *difaité* (the two last are possibly imperatives).

Peinti and *peintiré* are perhaps to be referred to *peinture* rather than *peindre*. A similar form *confiti* 'to preserve' (*confiture*), is used in St. Thomas. *Chita* and *assite* are apparently *assieds-toi* fused into one word. Another curious verb, similarly formed, runs through all the dialects. *Chumbo* in Louis. and Maurit., elsewhere *chembé*, 'to catch hold, hold fast', is the imperative *tiens bon*.

The simple form of the Creole verb performs the duty of a preterit or perfect and an imperative. The other tenses are formed by auxiliaries. *Apé*, the auxiliary of the present in Hayti and Louisiana, is the preposition *après*, not in its ordinary signification 'after', but in the more etymological sense 'at' (Lat. *ad pressum*, Ital. *appresso*), as in the phrase *elle est après sa toilette*, and the vulgarism *il est après lire*. This tense corresponds closely with our English progressive present; thus, *l'apé-li* 'he is reading'. Prefixing *té* (*été*, *était*), we have an imperfect; thus, *li t'apé li* 'he was reading'. In Mauritius, according to the statement of Mr. Besant, *après* forms only the imperfect; thus, *quand mo après faire ça* 'while I was doing that'.

In Trin., Mart., St. Th. we have, instead of *apé*, the auxiliary *ca*, which has also a somewhat wider use, expressing repeated and habitual as well as progressive action. It is used not only where a present or imperfect is required but in the statement of general truths, proverbs and the like; thus, *malhè pa*

ca chagé con lapli 'accidents do not threaten like rain', (Trin.). So far as I have observed *apé* has a more limited, a strictly progressive or continuative force. In his Grammar Mr. Thomas did not venture an explanation of *ca*, but more recently, in Trübner's Record for Dec. 31, 1870, he has expressed the opinion that *ca* and *da*, which performs a similar office in the Negro English of the West Indies, are of African origin, and from the same root. It is however extremely improbable that while the African element, even in the Creole vocabulary, is so small, a word having such an important grammatical use should have been borrowed from this source. The Creole auxiliaries in general, Spanish and Dutch as well as French, from their less independent character, have suffered more than usual change, and the original form is not always easily recognizable. Thus in Hayti and Louisiana the connection of *apé* with *après* is no longer felt, and other etymologies have been assigned to it. *Après* in the sense of 'after' is pronounced in Louisiana as in French, in Hayti *apoué*, though Ducœur-Joly writes the auxiliary *après*, from which we may perhaps conclude that in his day the two forms had not yet separated. Sooner than abandon the attempt to explain *ca* from the French, we should be disposed to accept one of the following etymologies, no one of which we freely admit is very obvious, and which are offered simply as conjectures. They are, *quand*, or *comme* (Creole *con*), the use of which in clauses expressing contemporaneous action, as *comme il faisait ça* 'just as he was doing this', may possibly have furnished a starting point for the auxiliary. The change required will perhaps seem less improbable when we consider that the Creole has converted the conjunction *et puis* 'and then' into an instrumental preposition 'with'; thus, *li talé (étalé) lôte la à tè épis you coude bouique* 'he felled the other to the ground by a blow with a brick' (Trin.). *Courir* is another possible etymology, supported by the analogy of the Dutch Creole, where *lo*, from *loopen* 'to run or go', is the auxiliary of the present.

The simple form of the Creole verb serves as a preterit and perfect, and an imperative. The pluperfect is formed, just as the imperfect from the present, by prefixing *té* to the preterit.

Mr. Thomas makes, quite unnecessarily it seems to us, two Creole conjugations, one with, the other without *ca*. The latter, a small class, comprises such verbs as *aimein* (*aimer*), *connaite*, *tini* (*tenir*) ‘to have,’ *vlé* ‘to wish,’ and the like, all of them naturally continuative in meaning, and therefore not needing *ca*. The corresponding words in English do not take the progressive form, ‘I am loving,’ &c. In such cases *aimein* is the present, *té aimein* the preterit.

The auxiliary of the future is *va*, frequently shortened to ‘*a*. In place of this, *callé* (*ca allé*) is frequently used in Trin., Mart., St. Th.; *apé allé* in Hayti; *allé*, *couri* in Louis.

The auxiliaries of the conditional present and past are the following: Trin., *sé*, past *sé va* and *té va*; Mart., *sré*, past *sré té*; (Schœlcher, *té*, past *ta*); St. Th., *sé*, past *té va* and *sé va*; Hayti, *ta*, past *té va* and *ta va* (Ducœur-Joly, *seré*, past *seré te* and *té seré*); Louis., *té* and *sé*, past *ta*. *Sé* is contracted from *serait*, *ta* from *té va*, so that in *ta va* (Hayti) *va* is repeated.

‘Can’ is expressed in Trin. by *sa* (*savoir*) and *pé* (*peut*), in Mart. usually by *pé* (Schœlcher also uses *sa*), in Hayti by *capabe* (*capable*) (Ducœur-Joly also *savé*), in St. Th. by *pé* and *capabe*; in Louis. by *connai* and *capave*. The past, ‘could,’ is formed in each case by prefixing *té*. In Trinidad *capabe* in an affirmative sentence has a bad sense, like the Eng. ‘capable of’, e. g. *capabe menti* ‘capable of lying,’ but in the negative sentence this shade of meaning disappears. ‘Must’, ‘ought’, are variously expressed by *faut*, *doué* (*doit*), *pou* (*pour*) etc.; thus, *pou li gagné sentiment* ‘he ought to be ashamed,’ (St. Th.).

Of *être* the parts in use (not including the auxiliaries *té* and *sé*), are, pres. *cé* or *yé*, pret. *cété*, *té* and occasionally the infinitive *ête*. The copula is however sparingly used and especially when the predicate is an adjective, the present *cé* is regularly omitted. In Ducœur-Joly we find instead of *cété*, the compound form *té yé*.

Avoir not only as an auxiliary, but also in the sense ‘to have’ has disappeared from the Creole. It is found however in *davoè* (*d’avoir*), used in Trin. as a conjunction, ‘because,’

after *blâmé* and words of similar meaning ; also in *napoènt* (*il n'y a point*). Its place has been supplied in Trin. and Mart. by *tini* (*tenir*), in Hayti and Louis. by *gagné* ; in St. Th. both *gagné* and *tini* are in use. These verbs are also used for the French idiom *y avoir* ; thus, *pa gagné moune là* 'there was nobody there' (Hayti).

By the loss of *avoir* and *être*, French nouns and adjectives are converted sometimes into Creole verbs ; thus, *pè* 'to fear' (*avoir peur de*), *bisoin* 'to need' (*avoir besoin de*), *content* 'to like' (*être content de*). Others pass directly into verbs ; thus, *marron* 'to run away,' *plein* 'to fill.' Still other anomalous verbs are *vaumié*, *simié* 'to prefer' (*vaut mieux, serait mieux*), found in Trinidad, to which may be added from Hayti *pito* (*plutôt*), with the same signification.

The Creole relative and interrogative adverbs of time and place are especially interesting, the latter being in some cases distinguished by an interrogative prefix.

The relative 'when' is in Trin. *temps*, *lè* (*l'heure*), interrogative not given ; Mart. rel. *quand*, interrog. *qui temps* ; St. Th. rel. *temps*, *quand*, interrog. *qui temps* ; Hayti rel. *lô* (*l'heure*), interrog. *quilô* ; Louis. rel. *quand*, interrog. *équand* (*est-ce quand*).

'Where' rel. is in Trin. *ôti* (*où est-il*), interrog. *ôti*, *côté*, *qui côté* ; Mart. rel. *ôti*, *qui côté*, interrog. not given ; St. Th. rel. *ôti*, *côté*, interrog. *ôti* ; Hayti, rel. *côté*, interrog. *côté* ; Louis. rel. *où* interrog. *é-ou*, *côté*, *ou-ce-qué*.

Mr. Thomas explains *ôti* as a contraction of *où es-tu* ; so *péti*, used in questions with the force 'can possibly,' for *peux-tu* ; *vienti-vati* 'a gadder about,' for *viens-tu, vas-tu* ; but in all these cases the pronoun is doubtless *il*, not *tu*.

The Creole is simplified in syntax quite as much as in grammatical forms. The loss of inflections has narrowed the freedom of position, just as for a similar reason the French order is more rigid than the Latin. Little is in fact left besides position, to determine the relation of words in Creole. Thus the subject must always precede the verb, and the sentence cannot be made interrogative by inversion. Where there is no interrogative pronoun or adverb, the question is in-

licated by the tone of voice, or introduced by *êce* (Trin.), *êcequé* (Louis.), *êcequi* (St. Th.), Fr. *est-ce que*. The prepositions *à* and *de*, which play so important a part in French syntax, are very sparingly used in Creole and mostly in certain phrases having the fixed character of compounds. In most cases they have simply dropped away and the gap has been left unfilled. Thus the attributive relation is expressed simply by placing the dependent after the governing noun; e. g. *chapeau papa tî fî là* 'the hat of the father of the girl' (Trin.) Verbs which in French take in addition to a direct object an indirect object with *à*, in Creole generally omit the preposition, the indirect object preceding the direct; thus, *moîn di zami moîn ça*, 'I told my friend so;' but in Mart. we have also *di pou* 'say to' (*pour*).

Verbs which in French have only the indirect object either dispense with the preposition or exchange the weak *à* or *de* for a stronger; thus, *li ri moîn*, or *li ri après moîn*, 'he laughed at me' (Louis.), Fr. *de moi*. So also where the complement is an infinitive; thus, *yo fouémi pou ouè*, 'they shuddered to see' (Trin.); *moi connai comment pou fai ça*, 'I can do it' (Louis.) Reflexive verbs sometimes give up the pronoun without change of meaning; thus, *li sauvé*, 'he ran away' (Hayti); *mo voulé servi li*, 'I wish to use it' (Louis.)

In Trinidad the verb *ba* or *baï* (*bailler*) 'to give,' may be used to mark the dative; thus, *li pôté toument baï famîe 'i* 'he brought trouble to his family.' In the Negro English of Surinam *gi* 'give' is used in a similar way.

The Creole not unfrequently combines prepositions for greater strength, or forms new ones; thus Mart. *quant à pou moîn* 'as for me,' Louis. *en haut laterre* 'on the ground,' for which we have in Trinidad the equivalents *en-lair* and *la sou* (*dessus*); but these combinations are simple in comparison with Fr. *au dessus de*.

For the conjunction *et* when used to connect individual words we have in Louis. *avé* (*avec*), in Hayti *acqué* (*avec*), in Mauritius *semb* (*ensemble*). In Trinidad *épîs* (*et puis*) has passed through the opposite process. Employed first to connect clauses, then individual words, it passed into a pre-

position denoting accompaniment, and finally the instrument, and is used interchangeably with *évec* (*avec*).

After *sôti* (*sortir*) 'to go out' and *pren* (*prendre*) 'to take away' we have the preposition *nans* (*dans*) employed; thus, *li sôti nans cabane li* 'he has just left his bed;' *li pren li nans main moin* 'he took it away from me.' A similar idiom is found in the Negro English; thus, *komoto na ini hoso*, literally 'come out to-in (within) house,' i. e., to come out of the house. *Sôti* answers to Fr. *venir de*; thus, *moin sôti contré* 'I have just met' (*Trin*).

The adverbs *atô* 'at once' (Mart.) and *ôni* 'only' (Trin.) furnish a good illustration of the amount of change which it is possible for a Creole word to undergo. *Atô*, as the intermediate forms *ator*, *astor* (Ducœur-Joly) and *astère* (Louis.) show, is for *à l'instant*. For *ôni* we have in Mart. *ani*, *anique*, in Hayti (Duc.-Joly) *necque*, in St. Thomas *ennique*, from which to *unique* is not a difficult step.

A few examples, in conclusion, of the power of the Creole to modify the meaning as well as the form of words:

(a.) Creole of Hayti. *Bougé* 'to dwell.' This change to a meaning opposite to that of Fr. *bouger* is explained perhaps by the circumstance that in such phrases as *il ne bouge pas des spectacles*, *pas* or *point* is not usually expressed (Dict. de l'Acad.), and the Creole negative being *pas*, not *ne pas* as in French, the weak *ne* goes for nothing.

Délagué, 'to untie, loosen;' the prefix *de* repeats the negative idea which is already in the simple verb *larguer*.

Chonger (*songer*) 'to remember' (also in Louisiana).

Campé 'to stand' (also in Louisiana).

Miel 'honey-bee,' 'honey' being *siwo miel* (*sirop*).

Touni (*tout nu*) 'naked; thus, *pié touni* 'barefoot.'

Grand gout 'hungry.'

Ein pé (*un peu*) 'a little;' *grand pé* 'a great deal.'

(b.) Creole of Louisiana.

Senti 'to smell' (also Mart.); compare Eng. *scent*.

Couri 'to go' and *galopé* 'to run' show the influence of slavery in quickening the natural pace.

Taillé 'to whip.'

Rompé (rompre) 'to beat soundly.'

Désert 'field.'

Bitin 'thing' Fr. *butin* 'plunder,' used also in St. Thomas and Guadeloupe; in Hayti and Trinidad, *baggai* (*baggage*).

Cabane, which in the West Indies has the significant 'bed', in Louisiana has the usual French meaning 'hut.'

SPANISH CREOLE.

Of this dialect there exists so far as I have been able to learn no published grammar or dictionary. The materials for the present sketch have been drawn from two sources: 1, a brief Dutch grammar in the Creole dialect, published in 1849, by J. J. Putman, a Roman Catholic clergyman in Curaçoa, followed in 1853 by a second part containing Creole and Dutch conversations;* 2, the oral testimony of Camps, who had excellent opportunities for acquiring the language and speaks it with great readiness. The master-workman with whom he served a six years' apprenticeship in St. Thomas and his fellow workmen were natives of Curaçoa and made constant use of the language, and Camps has himself also spent a little time in Curaçoa. Between the language as written by Putman and as spoken by Camps there is a substantial agreement, not only in general structure but also in the form of individual words. There are minor points of difference in which uniformly the Creole of Camps shows a progress in the natural direction of the language, towards phonetic decay, and since the variation is not towards but away from the Spanish, his native language, I have not hesitated to accept it as a genuine variety.

Putman employs in writing the Creole the Dutch orthography; for this the Spanish has here been substituted with a few modifications mentioned below.

* *Proeve eener Hollandsche spraakkunst ten gebruike der algemeene armenschool in de gemeente van de h. Rosa op Curaçao. Eerste stukje. Santa Rosa, 1849, 16mo, pp. 48. Tweede stukje, gemeensame zamenspraken. 1853, pp. 64.* Putman has published at least one other little work in the Creole: *Bida di Hesoe Kriestoe.* (Life of Jesus Christ.) Santa Rosa, 1852.

PHONETIC CHANGES.

The principal phonetic changes from Spanish to Creole are the following:

1. **VOWELS.** *Accented* vowels are subject to few changes. The diphthongs *ie* and *ue* usually return to *e* and *o* their Latin originals; thus, *seru* (*sierra*), *bon* (*bueno*), *soño* (*sueño*); but *bientu* (*viento*).

Unaccented vowels are more variable but the changes cannot be reduced to rule. Very frequent is the change of final *o* to *u*; thus, *malu* (*malo*), *pretu* (*prieto*), the derivative suffix *mentu* (*mento*). Some changes are apparently due to attraction by an accented vowel in a preceding or following syllable; thus, *aña* (*año*), *caya* (*calle*), *bichi* (*bicho*), *bini* (*venir*).

2. **CONSONANTS.** The peculiarities which distinguish the Cuban from the Castilian pronunciation are shared by the Creole, i. e. *ll* has the sound of *y*, *v* the sound of *b*, and *z* the sound of *s*, as has also *c* before *e*, but before *i* like *s* in the same position it passes into the English *sh*; thus, *yama* (*llamar*), *biña* (*vino*), *serebes* (*cerveza*), *shelu* (*cielo*), *dushi* (*dulce*), *shete* (*siete*).

Other changes are peculiar to the Creole. A final *n* frequently loses its consonant power and only makes the preceding vowel nasal, a characteristic feature of all the Creole dialects; thus, *nan*, *tin*, *shon*. So also the Creole *ñ* is not resolvable like the Spanish *ñ* into *n* followed by *y* consonant, but with the preceding vowel (like *gn* in the French Creole,) it makes a nasal vowel followed by *y* consonant. *N* between two vowels sometimes becomes *ñ*; thus, *bisiña* (*vecino*), *gaña* (*gana*). It is sometimes inserted before a dental; thus, *co-minda* (*comida*), *landa* (*nadar*). In *hunga* (*jugar*), *nenga* (*negar*) the palatal mute is changed to the corresponding nasal.

A mute followed by a liquid is a combination which in the middle of a word after an accented vowel the Creole avoids; *l* and *r* in this situation are transposed with the following vowel; thus, *homber* (*hombre*), *cuater* (*cuatro*), *milager* (*milagro*), *culpabel* (*culpable*). Sometimes, but not usually, an

initial mute and liquid are thus separated; thus, *purba* (*pro-bar*). In *drumi* (*dormir*) the change is in the opposite direction. Instead of transposition we have sometimes an inserted vowel; thus, *tabula* (*tabla*), *temperan* (*temprano*), *cologa* (*colgar*). *R* is transposed to avoid hiatus in *hari* (*reir*), *kere* (*creer*). *L* and *r* are occasionally interchanged; thus, *carson* (*calzon*), *lastra* (*arrastrar*).

T in the middle of a word passes sometimes to *d*, the regular change from Latin to Spanish; thus, *hende* (*gente*), *mondi* (*monte*); but in *putri* (*pudrir*) we have the opposite change.

Di before *e* becomes *j*, (*dzh*), as in *jés* (*dies*), *jente* (*diente*).

Final *d*, with *d* which has become final by the loss of a following vowel, either passes into *r* or is dropped. Thus, *tur* (*todo*), *mitar* (*mitad*) are found both in Putman and Camps; *salur* (*salud*), *criar* (*criado*), and many participles in *ar*, *er*, *ir* (Sp. *ado*, *ido*), e. g. *habrir* (*abrido*), *pisar* (*pesado*), are given by Putman, but Camps drops the final syllable altogether and pronounces *salú*, *criá*, *habrí*, *pisá*. *Merdia* (*medio dia*) has the sanction of both.

Gu before *a* and *o* loses the *g*; e. g. *awa* (*agua*), *warda* (*guardar*).

J initial and in the middle of a word before an accented vowel retains its aspirate sound; after an accented vowel it is lost or passes into *y*; thus, *abáu* (*abajo*), *cangréo* (*cangrejo*), *conséyo* (*consejo*), but *fica* (*fijar*).

Initial *h* is dealt with quite after the cockney fashion. Before the diphthong *ue*, where in Spanish it is strongly aspirated, in Creole, as also in the Cuban, it is silent; thus *webu* (*huevo*), *wesu* (*hueso*), *werfanu* (*huerfano*). Before other vowels it is silent in Spanish but generally aspirated in the Creole. In the following words (an incomplete list), it is aspirate; *heru* (*hierro*), *huma* (*humo*), *hostia* (*hostia*), *higra* (*higado*), *homber* (*hombre*), *hílu* (*hilo*), *humilda* (*humilde*), *horta* (*hurtar*), *hasi* (*hacer*), *herebe* (*hervir*), *haya* (*hallar*), *hala* (*helar*), *hereda* (*heredar*). In *ora* (*hora*), *onor* (*honor*), *yu* (*hijo*), *awe* (*hoy*) and some others it is silent.

H is also prefixed to some words beginning with a vowel ; thus, *haltu* (*alto*), *hanchu* (*ancho*), *haraña* (*araña*), *huña* (*uña*), *habri* (*abrir*), *hisa* (*izar*), *hole* (*ole*), *hunta* (*untar*).

More striking are the changes occasioned by the loss of entire syllables, initial, medial, or final, not protected by the accent, a loss caused in part no doubt by the increased strength of the accent in Creole. As in the French Creole, prefix prepositions fall away very readily ; thus, *bisá* (*avisar*) *siñá*, (*enseñar*), *derá* (*enterrar*), *splicá* (*explicar*). The *e* which the Spanish prefixes to *s* followed by another consonant, is also dropped ; thus, *spiritu* (*espírito*).

The loss of a medial syllable is less common, e. g. *puntrá* (*preguntar*), *dirtí* (*derretir*), *drechi* (*derecho*), *hermentu* (*herramienta*), *trahá* 'to make' (*trabajar*), but *trabáu* 'work' (*trabajo*) ; so *camná* 'to walk' (*caminar*), but *camína* 'road' (*camino*).

The decay is naturally greatest at the end of the word, and the extent of this in the Creole is shown by the entire loss of verbal inflections. Instances in other parts of speech are, *sombre* (*sombrero*), *pida* (*pedazo*), *cabái* (*caballo*), *cachó*, Putman *cachor*, 'dog' (*cachorro*), *limpi* (*limpio*).

An initial and a final, or a medial and a final syllable may be lost in the same word ; thus, *costuma* (*acostumbrado*), *corá*, Putman *coral* (*colorado*).

The only final consonants in use in the Creole are *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, and *s*. The Spanish finals *d*, *z*, *x*, are not found ; *m*, which does not appear in Spanish, becomes final by the mutilation of a word ; thus, *bam* 'come !' (*vamos*), *com* 'how' (*como*).

A few words ending in a consonant add in the Creole a vowel ; thus, *clina* (*clin* or *crin*), *reda* (*red*), *bigesa* (*vejez*), *solo* (*sol*), *ayera* (*ayer*).

Dutch words, which constitute a not very large, but doubtless increasing portion of the vocabulary, are subjected neither to the Creole, nor to any uniform laws of change. Verbs are sometimes shortened as in the Dutch Creole ; thus, *stop* (Dutch *stoppen*), *fluit* (Dutch *fluiten*) ; sometimes they are made uniform with the Spanish ; thus, *lezá* 'to read' (Dutch *lezen*), *konopá* 'to tie' (Dutch *knoopen*.) Dutch nouns are frequently

adopted in the diminutive form, in some cases apparently for the sake of the softer vowel-ending; thus, *buki* 'book', *brifi* 'letter', *stulchi* 'chair'; or a vowel may be assumed; thus *santu*, (Dutch *zand*.)

INFLECTIONS. These have gone the way of all Creole inflections. The article, adjective, and noun are invariable in respect to both gender and number.

Gender, which can no longer be expressed by termination, is marked, wherever necessary, by adding *homber*, 'man' and *muhé* (*mujer*), 'woman'; thus, '*ruman homber*' 'brother', '*ruman muhé*' 'sister' (*hermano*, *-na*); *mucha homber* 'boy', *mucha muhé* 'girl' (*muchaco*, *-cha*); *patu homber* 'drake' (*pato*). *Homber* and *muhé* may, however, be omitted when it is already sufficiently clear which of the sexes is referred to, and *ruman*, *mucha* are then used indifferently for both. *Yu* 'child' is the representative of both *hijo* and *hija*. In the place of *padrino*, *-na* 'godfather', 'godmother', we have only *padrina* 'godfather'; 'godmother' is *madrina*, as in Spanish. For *abuelo*, *-la* 'grandfather', 'grandmother', the Creole has *awela* 'grandfather' and *wela* 'grandmother'.

The idea of plurality is expressed only when the noun is definite, and then, as in the other Creole dialects, by adding the personal pronoun 3. plural *nan*; thus, *cas* (*casa*) 'house' or 'houses', *cuater cas* 'four houses'; but *e cas nan* 'the houses', *e cas grandi nan* 'the large houses.' The only instance which I have discovered of the Spanish plural ending *s* is in the adjective *barios* 'various', (*vario*), where the prevailing use of the plural has left its impress on the form. No corresponding singular *bario* is in use.

Adjectives, as has been already remarked, are indeclinable. The comparative is formed as in Spanish by *mas*, and according to Camps the superlative by *e mas*, but Putman gives *di mas*; thus, *grandi*, comp. *mas grandi*, superl. *e mas grandi* or *di mas grandi*. *Bon* (*bueno*) and *malu* (*malo*) are thus compared; *bon*, *miyon*, *mas miyon*; *malu*, *piyo*, *mas piyo*. For *miyon* (*mejor*) Putman writes *mehor*; the final vowel is made nasal by the initial *m*. *Mens* (*menos*) 'less' forms a superla-

tive *mas mens* 'least'. The termination *isimo*, used as in Spanish only in an absolute sense, occurs in *muchisimu*.

The *numerals* from eleven to fifteen differ from the Spanish in employing the separate forms *jes un*, *jes dos*, &c. instead of *once*, *doce*, &c. *Dos* and *tres*, according to Camps, retain the final *s* only when they stand alone; before a noun they become *do*, *tre*. Only the first four of the ordinals are in use; the cardinals take the place of the others.

PRONOUNS. The following table exhibits the personal pronouns.

Singular,	Plural,
1. mi	1. nos
2. bo	2. boso, bosonan
3. el, e.	3. nan.

The objective forms are less numerous here than in the other dialects; the 1. sing. *mi* is the only unmistakable one. The 2. sing. *bo* is for *vos*; *boso* for *vosotros*, *vosotras*. Putman employs only *boso*, Camps only *bosonan*, a plural similar to that of nouns, literally 'you-others-they'. In the 3. sing. Putman uniformly gives *el*, while with Camps the regular form is *e*, *el* appearing only before the auxiliary of the preterit *a*; thus, *e bisa* 'he says', but *el a bisa* he 'said.' The following vowel accounts here for the preservation of the final *l*, which has elsewhere disappeared. Of the origin of the 3. plur. *nan* I can give no satisfactory explanation.

The possessive pronominal adjectives are in the 1. 2. sing., 1. 3. plural the same as the personal pronouns; the 3. sing. is *su* (*suyo*); the 2. plural is like the 2. singular *bo*. When used attributively they precede the substantive, and they are made predicative by the preposition *di*, as *di mi* 'mine', &c. After *ta* 'is', the *d* is elided and we have *tai mi* for *ta di mi*, &c., but in the 3. sing. *di* before *e* passes as usual into *j*, in spite of which we have not *ta je* but *tai je*, i. e. *ta di di e*. The possessive becomes substantive when the definite article, or demonstrative *e* (Putman *es*), is prefixed to the predicate form; thus, *e di mi*, to which corresponds the Spanish *el de él* 'his'. Both the definite and indefinite articles are invariable. Camps employs for the definite article *e*, which is prob-

ably to be referred to the Span. demonstrative *ese* rather than to the article *el*. Putman uses no form distinct from the weak demonstrative *es*, which is however stronger than the *e* of Camps. *Es* is both the nearer and the more remote demonstrative, both 'this' and 'that', but it may be made more definite, as in Spanish, by *aquí* 'here', and *aí* or *ayá* (*ahí* or *allá*) 'there'; thus, *es liber aquí* 'this book,' *es liber nan ayá* 'those books'.

The indefinite article is *un*.

The Span. article *el*, *la*, appears in two or three cases inseparably joined to the noun; thus, *laire* (Putman *laría*) (*el aire*); *lama* (Putman *lamar*) 'sea', *e lama* 'the sea'; *alafin* 'finally'.

The reflexive is formed by means of *curpa* (*cuero*); thus, *su curpa* 'himself'; while *mes* (*mismo*) is employed to give emphasis to the subject; e. g. *el a hasi e mes*, 'he did it himself'. This corresponds with the prevailing usage in the French Creole.

The relatives and interrogatives, as in Spanish, have the same form;

Who, *queng* (*quien*), *quende* (*que gente*).

What, *qui* (*que*), *quico* (*que cosa*).

Which? *qui*, *cual*.

THE VERB. Putman distinguishes two forms of the verb, one corresponding to the Span. infinitive, but without the final *r*; the other with *r*, which has come however from *d* of the participial ending *do*; thus *pasá*, *pasár*; *conosé*, *conosír* (*pasar*, *pasado*; *conocer*, *conocido*). *Skirbi* and *pone*, however, which in Spanish have strong participles, *escrito* and *puesto*, in the Creole are weak, *skirbir* and *poner*, — the latter also retaining the vowel of the infinitive, *e*, instead of the *i*, which we should expect (*ponido*). This form in *r* is not used, like the Spanish participle, in the compound tenses of the active voice, but has only a passive sense; thus, *nos mester pone* 'we must put', but *es mester ta poner* 'it must be put'. I have found in Camps no trace of the above distinction; the verb is reduced as in the other Creole dialects to a single form, — the first of those given. The final *r*, always a weak letter

except where it becomes final by transposition as in *homber* (*hombre*), if once sounded has now disappeared.

The verb *estar* which in Spanish has largely taken the place of *ser*, in the Creole has quite supplanted it. The only trace of *ser* which I have observed is in *podese* 'perhaps' (*puede ser*). *Ta* 'to be', the Creole form of *estar*, is conjugated as follows:

Pres. sing. 1. <i>mi ta</i> I am,	Plur. 1. <i>nos ta</i> we are, &c.
2. <i>bo ta</i> thou art,	2. <i>boso ta</i>
3. <i>e ta</i> he, she, it is.	(<i>bosonan ta</i> , Camps.)
(<i>el ta</i> , Putnam.)	3. <i>nan ta</i> .

Past (imperf., perf., plupf.), *mi tabata* (Camps, often, *mi taba*).

Fut. (and pres. conditional), *lo mi ta*.

Past conditional, *lo mi tabata* or *lo mi taba*.

Ta is, of course, Sp. *esta*; *taba*, Sp. *estaba*; so that in *tabata* we have the verb doubled. The position of *lo* before the subject would seem to indicate that it is not of verbal origin; it is probably the Span. *luego* 'presently', the final syllable being lost and the first suffering the regular change of vowel, *ue* to *o*. In the past tense, only *tabata* is found in Putman, but the examples are too few to establish a rule; Camps' usage is not uniform, but apparently while *tabata* is both pluperfect and imperfect, *taba* is only imperfect.

Tin 'to have' (and also, like *tini* in the French Creole, 'there is') (*tenir*), which has supplanted *haber*, is similarly conjugated; pres. *tin*, pret. *tabatin*, fut. *lo (mi) tin*. In the signification 'to hold', the fuller form *tini* is used.

The conjugation of the regular verb is illustrated in the following paradigm of *duna* (Sp. *donar*) 'give':—

Pres.	<i>mi ta duna</i>	I give, or am giving,
Impf.	<i>mi tabata duna</i>	I was giving,
Pret.	<i>mi a duna</i>	I gave,
Plupf.	<i>mi a caba duna</i>	I had given,
Fut.	<i>lo mi duna</i>	I shall give,
Conditional (past)	<i>lo mi a duna</i>	I should have given,
Immed. Fut.	<i>mi ta bai duna</i>	I am going to give,
Imper.	<i>duna</i>	Give.

A few verbs, as in the French Creole, form the present without an auxiliary, e. g. *mi sabi* 'I know'; the imperfect is in this case naturally wanting. The auxiliary of the preterit, *a*, is the only relic of *haber* which the Creole retains. *Caba* is the Sp. *acabar*, and is in use both as a verb, 'to finish', and an adverb, 'already'; thus, *mi a caba hasi e caba*, 'I had done it already'. The following sentence will illustrate the use of the conditional; *si bo bis' esai' atrobe (otra vez) mi ta dal bo*, or *lo mi dal bo* 'if you say that again I shall strike you'; *si el a bis' esai' atrobe, lo mi a dal e* 'if he had said that again I should have struck him'.

'Can' is expressed by *por* (Camps, except before a vowel, *po*) Sp. *poder*; 'could' by *por a*; thus, *mi por hasi e* 'I can do it', *mi por a hasi e* 'I could have done it'.

'Must' is variously expressed; thus, *mi tin pa (para) bai* 'I must go'; *pa mi hasi e* or *mi debi hasi e* 'I must do it'.

Laga (Putman *larga*) Sp. *largar* is the causative, as well as the hortatory 'let'; thus, *laga hasi e* 'let it be done', *laga nos hasi e* 'let us do it'.

The three Spanish conjugations are generally traceable in the Creole verbs; the final vowel being protected by the accent has only in a few cases suffered change. Most common is the change of *e* to *i*, of which the following are all the cases observed: *hasi* (*hacer*), *sabi* (*saber*), *bari* (*barrer*), *debi* (*deber*), *cai* (*caer*), *priminti* (*prometer*), *gradisi* (*agradecer*). So, also, when Latin verbs pass in Spanish to a different conjugation, the change is usually from *er* to *ir*; e. g. *battuere* (*batir*), *fervere* (*hervir*), which in the Creole *herebe* 'boil' returns to the Latin vowel *e*. In *biba* (*vivir*), *prefera* (*preferir*), *sambuya* (*zabullir*) we have the change from *i* to *a*; in *mula* (*moler*), from *e* to *a*.

The Spanish verbs have nearly all become weak, and as a natural consequence we find among the Creole verbs but few irregular forms. Besides those among the auxiliaries, already considered, there are the following:—

Dal 'to strike' (*dar*, which in the sense 'to give' has been replaced by *donar*). The *l* which here appears belongs possibly to the suffix pronoun, Sp. *darle*.

Que, before a vowel *quer*, (Putman *quier*), Sp. *querer*, 'wish', 'will': e. g. *e quer a bai na cas* 'he wished to go home'; *bo quier ta asina bon di bisa mi* 'will you be so good as to tell me'.

Bai 'to go' and *bam*, in exhortations, 'come!' from *vaya* and *vamos*, parts of the defective *ir*.

Duel, in the phrase *ta duel mi* 'I am sorry', may perhaps be the pres. indic. 3. sing. of *doler*, but more probably the noun *duelo* used as a verb.

When immediately followed by the pronoun or article *e*, the final *a* and *e* of verbs of the first and second conjugation are lost; thus, *el a bis' e* 'he told him'; *el a hal' e cabuya*, (this last is a word of Indian origin; v. Pichardo s. v.) 'he pulled the rope.'

The negative *no* is generally so closely attached to the preceding word as to lose its vowel; thus, *en tin e* 'he has'nt it.'

Reflexive verbs give up the pronoun without change of meaning: thus, *parse* (*parecerse*) 'to resemble'. As has been already observed, in Putman the past participle has preserved a distinct form, and the verb can be conjugated passively, but Camps makes no such distinction. The usual resource is to turn the construction into an active form, but in some cases the verb is used intransitively in the *preterit* in place of a *present* passive; thus, *e cas a caba* 'the house is finished'; *e palo ta kibra* 'the tree is breaking', but *e palo a kibra* 'the tree is broken'.

The only derivative suffixes which retain vitality enough for new formations are the diminutive endings *-icu*, *-itu* (*-ico*, *-ito*) and *-mentu* (*-mento*); thus from the irregular verb *dal* 'to strike' we have *dalmentu* 'a blow.'

The prepositions in most common use are the following: *di* (*de*) marks, as in Spanish, the genitive relation, *na* (Dutch *na*, *naar*) which has taken the place of *a*, the dative; the stronger *den* (*dentro*) has supplanted *en* 'in'; *con* retains its full form before *e*; thus *cone* 'with him',—but is elsewhere *cu*; 'under' is *bau di* (*debajo de*), 'above', *ariba di*.

'When' interrogative is *quitem* (*d que tiempo*), sometimes *cuando*; relative, *ora*.

'Where', both interrogative and relative is *unda* (*en donde*); thus, *unda bo a sali* 'where have you been?'

A few of the more peculiar, either in form or meaning, of the Creole words are the following:—

(a.) Peculiar in form. *Cuminda* 'to greet' (*cumplimentar*); *drinta* 'to enter' (*entrar* modified by the preposition *den* Sp. *dentro*); *grabata* 'to scratch' and also 'to itch', (*garra-patear* 'to scribble'); *hiba* 'to carry' (Camps *yeba*, the regular form) Sp. *llevar*; *lubida* 'to forget' (*olvidar*); *lamantar* 'to rise' (*levantarse*); *trese* 'to bring', used along with the regular form *trae* (*traer*); *papia* 'to talk', whence the name *papia-mento* given by the Spaniards to the Creole dialect, possibly from *hablar*; *até, atá* 'there it is!' for *allá ta e* (?); *feneta* 'pin' (*alfiler*); *shon* Sp. *señor, señora*, (*shon mosa* (*moza*) is used for *señorita*); *numa* 'only' (*no mas*); *anto* 'then' (*entonces*); *pasoba* 'because'.

(b.) Peculiar in meaning. *Fariña* 'corn meal' and *hariña* 'flour', both from Sp. *harina*; *pretu* 'black', Sp. *prieto* 'of a dark color' (*negro* being the distinctive name of the black race another word for 'black' was found necessary); *misa* 'church', properly 'mass'; *dia domingo* 'Sunday', Sp. *domingo*; *buta* 'to put' (*botar* 'to throw'); *bringa* 'to fight' (*brincar* 'to jump' 'fret'); *masha* 'very', 'greatly' Sp. *demasiado* 'too much' (in the Negro English of Surinam, we have *too mooshi* and in the negro dialect of our Southern States *too much*, used in a similar way to express only a high degree of a quality); *tata* 'father' (used also in the Dutch Creole, *vader* being in ordinary use applied only to God,) probably of African origin. *Tata* in some of the Italian dialects is used, especially by children, for 'father', but in Spanish we have *tato, tata* 'younger brother', 'younger sister'. In several of the Western African dialects *tata* is 'father.'

DUTCH CREOLE.

This dialect, spoken in the Danish West Indies, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, is confined mostly to the plantations. Until within a few years the Moravian missionaries have

preached in this language to the blacks, but they have now abandoned it for a broken English. English is in St. Thomas as the language of the public schools.

My authorities have been the Creole New Testament published at Barbey, in 1802; the *Psalm-Boek*, Barbey, 1784; a grammatical sketch in Oldendorp's *Geschiede der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den Inseln S. Thomas, S. Croix and S. Jan*, Barbey, 1777 (pp. 424-436), but more especially the oral testimony of Camps. That the language of the New Testament and Psalm-book is in great measure artificial, and no fair representation of the spoken language, one who has studied the other Creole dialects would easily discover, even without Oldendorp's statement that the missionaries were compelled to borrow from the Dutch and German, not only many words for the expression of ideas wanting in the Creole, but also a passive conjugation. The hope which he entertained that the spoken language would gradually be elevated to this level, has not been realized. Oldendorp approaches much nearer the spoken idiom of the present day. The Dutch Creole is more fortunate than its sisters, in preserving in nouns a plural inflection. Both the Dutch plural endings, *en* and *s* are found, the former quite frequently, the latter but seldom; e. g. *berg*, pl. *bergen*; *broeder*, pl. *broederen*; *neger*, pl. *negers*. But in a majority of cases these endings have been replaced by the pers. pron. 3. plur., *sende*, which, however, like the corresponding plurals in the other Creole dialects, can only be employed when the noun is definite; thus, *boom*, definite plur. *die boom sende*. Certain words which are apparently in process of transition add the pronoun to the plural termination; thus, *vrouw*, pl. *vrouwen* and *vrouwen sende*; *schip*, pl. *skepen* and *schepen sende*.

The noun has no case endings, and the article and adjective (except when used substantively, e. g. *die dooden*) are entirely without inflections either of number, gender, or case. The genitive when it follows the governing noun is connected with it by the prep. *va* (*van*); when it precedes, the possessive pronoun *shi* is inserted; thus, *die boek va Jan*, or *Jan shi boek* 'John's book.'

The personal pronouns are :

Singular.	Plural.
1. <i>mi</i>	1. <i>ons</i>
2. <i>joe</i>	2. <i>jende, jen</i> (Oldp. <i>jender, jen</i>)
3. <i>am</i> (Oldp. <i>em</i>).	3. <i>sende, sen</i> (Oldp. <i>sender, sen</i>).

All these except the 3. plur. are objective forms, corresponding to the Dutch *mij, u, hem, ons, u andere, zij andere*. The 2. and 3. plur. correspond precisely with the Creole Fr. *zôt, (vous autres)*, whereas the Dutch adds *lieden* to the singular pronoun where it is necessary to distinguish the plural, though more often the distinction is not marked; thus 2. sing. *gij*, 2. pl. *gij*, or *gij lieden*; 3. sing. fem. *zij*, 3. pl. fem. *zij* or *zij lieden*. The forms of the personal pronouns also serve for the possessive pronom. adjectives, except in the 3. sing. where *shi* (*zijn*) is employed. When attributive they either precede the noun, or follow it with the preposition *va* (*van*); thus *mi boek* or *die boek va mi*; with *sende* the latter form is preferred. *Va mi, va joe*, etc., are the predicate forms.

In Oldendorp's time, both the comparative and superlative endings *er, st* were retained in a few adjectives, though most were compared by means of *meer, meest*; thus, *groot, grooter, grootste*. But now only the superlative ending is preserved, the weaker comparative having disappeared; thus, *groot, mee groot, grootste*. The only instance observed of the comparative ending *er* is in *beter*, of which the positive in use is *fraai* and the superlative *beste* or *mee beter*. On the other hand the superlative can no longer be formed by *meest*, and such adjectives as have not the ending *ste* do not distinguish the superlative from the comparative; thus, *lee* (*laag*), comp. and super. *mee lee*. *Mee kleentje*, the comparative of *kleen*, shows the diminutive ending *tje* curiously attached to an adjective. The substantive *beetje* 'a little,' forms a comparative *mee beetje*, 'less,' 'a smaller quantity.'

The Creole definite article *die* is to be referred to the Dutch demonstrative *die* rather than to the article *de*. *Die* retains also in the Creole its demonstrative use and is, moreover, as in Dutch, frequently relative.

The Creole verb is, according to the statement of Olden-

dorp, the Dutch infinitive deprived of the termination *en* ; a better statement is that it is the verb stem, stripped of all terminations and frequently of a portion of the root in addition. Thus from *staan*, where a *n* belongs to the root of the verb, we have the Creole *stan*, but from *slaan*, root *slag*, Creole *sla*. The final consonants of the root are, in almost all cases, written by Oldendorp and found in the Creole New Testament, but are, now at least, frequently not heard ; thus, *lo* (*loopen*) ‘to go,’ *ki* (*kijken*) ‘to see,’ are written by Oldendorp *loop*, *kik*.

In the case of the irregular or strong verbs, where the vowel of the preterit or participle differs from that which appears in the present, the infinitive, and the imperative, the Creole chooses the latter. The only exception noticed is *vlo* ‘to lose’ (*verliezen*, *verloor*, *verloren*).

As an illustration of the Creole conjugation, we take *val* (*vallen*) ‘to fall.’

Pres. *mi lo val*. I am falling.

Impf. *mi a lo val*. I was falling.

Pres. *mi a val*. I fell.

Perf. *mi ka val*. I have fallen.

Plupf. *mi a ka val*. I had fallen.

Fut. *mi sa val*. I shall fall.

Past Condit. *mi a sa val*. I should have fallen.

The auxiliary of the present *lo* (Oldp. *le*) is apparently the same with the verb *lo* (*loopen*), ‘to go’, to which it is prefixed to form the immediate future tense ; thus, *mi lo lo val* ‘I am going to fall.’ The preterit *a* is a weakened form of *hebben* ‘have’ (Creole *ha*), and *sa* future, is from *zal*. *Ka* is not so readily explained. It is perhaps for *gehad*, *g* being made surd by the following *h* ; possibly from *kom* (*kommen*), the Creole representative of *worden*, or from *kaba* (Spanish *acabar*) which, both as a verb ‘to finish’ and an adverb ‘already,’ has found its way into all the Creole dialects.

The verb ‘to be’ (Dutch *zijn*, *wezen*) is conjugated as follows : Pres. *bin*, *mi*, *na* ; Pret. *a wees* ; Fut. *sa wees*. *Mi* and *na* are apparently corruptions of *bin*, arising from rapid and indistinct pronunciation, but the three forms are not used in-

differently ; thus, to the question, *Wie die bin da ?* 'who is there ?' the answer is, *Na mi* 'it is I ;' *mi mi fraai* 'I am well,' &c. Oldendorp remarks that *ka*, the auxil. of the perfect, is often used in place of *ben* ; thus, *mi ka moe* 'I am tired,' but it appears in such cases to denote always a resultant state, 'I have become tired.'

The passive conjugation found in the Creole New Testament as has been already remarked, is purely artificial ; such forms as *sal word genammt* 'shall be called,' have no trace of Creole character. The Creole, however, makes limited use of a passive formed by means of *kom* or *ka* ; thus, *die hoës ka bouw* 'the house is built.'

Curious changes in the form or meaning of words are less common in the Dutch than in the other Creole dialects. The following are examples : *Lestan* (*laat staan*), Creole 'leave,' is also used in exhortations ; thus, *lestan ons lo* 'let us go.' The separable prepositions *op* and *toe* are used as verbs, the former for *opstaan*, the latter for *toemaken* ; thus, *wat tit you hopo voevroe ?* 'at what time do you get up in the morning ?' *toe joe mon* 'shut your mouth.' *Voevroe* is a case of reduplication, so common in the Negro English of Surinam ; another is *pat-pat* (Spanish *pato*) 'duck.'

THE NEGRO ENGLISH OF SURINAM.

To complete the survey we add the more important characteristics of this dialect as it appears in Wullschlägel's *Negerenglisches Wörterbuch*, Löbau, 1850, and in the *Negro English New Testament* of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Lond., 1829.

The grammar and the chief part of the vocabulary are of English origin, but the long Dutch possession of the country has introduced, as in the case of the Spanish Creole, a strong Dutch element, and the additions now made to the vocabulary are from this source, while many English words are falling into disuse. From former contact with the Portuguese Creole it has taken up also many words from this source, and we not unfrequently find synonyms from two or even from the three languages ; thus for 'nothing' we have Eng. *noti*, Dutch *niksi*,

Port. *nada*. In outward appearance the language has undergone more change, become more Africanized in the structure of its syllables, than either of the other Creole dialects, but the grammatical changes are less important. Very seldom are any finals except a vowel or a nasal, *m* or *n*, tolerated, and as a consequence a vowel is very frequently assumed. The following proverb from Wullschlägel will serve as an illustration: *Te Gado wani pai Dagoe, a gi hem wan soro na mindri hede; fa a sa doe kisi hem vo lekki?* literally 'Time God want pay dog he give him one sore in middle head; fashion he shall do catch him for lick?' i. e. 'When God wants to punish a dog he gives him a sore on the back of his head; how will he contrive to lick it?' (We retain the established Dutch orthography, but to bring it into correspondence with the English it will be generally sufficient to bear in mind that the vowels have the Italian sound, except that *oe* is used for *u*, *ie* for long *i*, *ee* for long *e*, and that *j*, *tj*, *dj* and *v* are used for Eng. *y* consonant, *ch*, *j* and *f* respectively). Combinations of consonants are frequently reduced, by the dropping of one or more, to a simpler form; thus, *tan* (*stand*), *pori* (*spoil*). *R* and *l* are often interchanged; thus, *srefi* (*self*), *ripi* and *lepi* (*ripe*). Final *m* and *n* after any vowel but *i* frequently make the vowel nasal. *D* is the usual Creole, as it is the Dutch equivalent of *th*, both surd and sonant, but the change is not without exceptions; thus *trowei* (*throw away*), *tifi* (*teeth*).

The definite article is *da* (*that*), the indefinite *wan*.

The personal pronouns are,

Singular, 1. <i>mi</i> .	Plural, 1. <i>wi</i> .
2. <i>joe</i> .	2. <i>oenoe</i> , <i>oen</i> .
3. <i>a</i> , <i>hem</i> .	3. <i>dem</i> .

In the 3. sing. *a* is the unemphatic subject, *hem* both subject and object. The 2. plur. *oenoe*, which I am not able to explain, appears in the dialect of the Port Royal islands (Prof. W. F. Allen, in the introduction to *Slave Songs of the United States*), in the form *oon* or *ona*, used for both singular and plural, but only between friends. Mr. Thomas gives for the Negro English of the West Indies the following pronouns; *me*, *you*, *'e*, *awe*, *ayou* (*all you?*), *dem*. The personal pronouns

serve also for possessives, when used attributively either preceding the noun or following it with the preposition *va* or *vo* (Dutch *van*); thus, *mi hoso* or *da hoso vo mi* 'my house.' The predicate form is, as in the Dutch Creole, *di vo mi*, 'mine.'

Nouns have lost the plural ending and are made plural when definite, by prefixing the 3. plur. pronoun *dem*; thus, *dem hoso*, 'the houses,' Only the connection determines whether *dem* has a plural or a possessive force, whether *dem hoso* is 'the houses' or 'their houses.' In the Port Royal dialect *dem* is similarly employed, though possibly with more of a demonstrative force; thus, sing. *that cow*, plur. *dem cow*. In a few cases the Creole has adopted a noun in the plural form, using it however equally for the singular; thus, *jesi* (ears), *eksi* (eggs), *tifi* (teeth), *leden* 'limb' (Dutch *lid*, pl. *leden*). In *didiebri* 'the devil,' the article has become a permanent prefix; pl. *dem didiebri* 'the devils.'

Gender is expressed usually by the prefixes *man*, *oeman*; thus, *man-hasi* 'horse,' *oeman-hasi* 'mare.' As a suffix *man* is sometimes of common gender; thus, *dansi-man*, 'dancer' whether male or female.

The comparative and superlative are formed by *moro*, thus *oeree* 'old', comp. *moro oeroe*, super. *da moro oeroe*. *Boen* 'good' forms the comp. *betre*, *moro betre*, or *moro boen*; superl. *beste*, *moro beste*, or *moro boen*.

The numerals from eleven to one hundred (except *twinti*, 20), differ from the English form; thus, *tin-na-wan*, 'eleven' (*ten to one*); *dritemtin*, (*three-times-ten*) 'thirty.' The iteratives are formed by the suffix *tron* (*turn*); as *toetron* 'twice'; the reduplicatives by *doblo* (*double*); as *dri doblo*, 'three-fold.'

Of the verb 'to be' the present is *de*, the past *den be*, the fut. *sa de*. *De* is apparently the adverb there, the use of which in the combinations 'there is,' 'there are,' etc., furnishes possibly a link of connection between the adverb and the verb. The usual Creole form for 'there' is *dapee*, (*that place*) or *dédapee* (*there that place*), but *de* is also used; thus, *a de* 'he is there,' the copula being omitted, or included in the predicate.

The verb is reduced to one invariable form, which in the case of the irregular verbs is that of the present infinitive and imperative, seldom that of the preterit or participle, as in *lasi* 'to lose' (*lost*). In the Port Royal dialect, where there is the breaking up of English forms and constructions without the settling down into a uniform usage, which is the second stage in Creole development, the different parts of the verb are employed in a confused way.

The auxiliary of the progressive present is *de*, which is perhaps the same with *de*, 'to be.' The analogy of the English 'he *is* reading,' and of the Spanish Creole where the progressive tense is formed by the aid of *ta*, 'is' favor this view. *De* may however be a corruption of *do*, the use of which in the emphatic and interrogative forms of the English verb would furnish a point of departure for the Creole progressive. In the Negro English of the West Indies the auxiliary is *da*, in the Port Royal dialect, *da* or *do*. *Ben* is the auxiliary of the preterit, *sa* of the future; *de go* forms an immediate future; thus, *areen de go fadóm*, 'it is going to rain.'

Among the most interesting of the new forms of the Creole are the reduplications. These abound, and are either formed for the occasion, when emphasis is required, as *njoe-njoe* 'brand new,' or are standing forms, as *soesoe* 'shoe,' *poesi-poesi* 'cat,' *wawan* 'alone' (*wan* 'one').

There are some curious cases of composition. *Dasnoti* (*that's nothing*) 'pardon' is a good Creole noun, and may stand as the object of a verb; thus, *gi hem dasnoti*, 'grant him pardon.' So also *odi* (*how d'ye?*) and in the Port Royal dialect *huddy*; thus, *mi takki odi gi Urbanus*, 'I salute Urbanus,' literally 'talk how d'ye to Urbanus.' *Gi* (*give*) is here, like *ba* in the French Creole the sign of the dative. *Fadóm*, *sidóm*, *lidóm* are the Creole representatives of the simple verbs, *fall*, *sit*, *lie*. *Tra* 'other' prefixed to *tamara* 'to-morrow,' gives *trátamara* 'day after to-morrow.'

Njam 'to eat,' *njam-njam* 'food,' are perhaps from *yam*, Sp. *igname*, the tuber which forms a chief article of food. *Njam zondei* is 'to keep Sunday.' *Krin* (*clean*) is 'light' used both as a noun and adjective; thus, *krin moe kom!* 'let

there be light!’ (literally ‘light must come’); *poeloe dati moro krin gi wi* ‘explain (pull more clean) that to us.’ So in Port Royal *day-clean* is used for ‘day-break.’ For ‘heaven’ the usual Creole word is *tapo* (*top*), for ‘earth’ *gron-tapo* (*ground top*).

As in the other Creole dialects, with verbs of motion the direction of the motion is indicated rather by the verb than by the preposition; thus, *komoto na hemel fadóm* ‘to fall from the sky;’ *hopo na gron* ‘to rise up from the ground,’ (*hopo* from *up*, or Dutch *op*; it is also the Creole for ‘open,’ and in the Dutch Creole it unites these two meanings).

The relative and interrogative pronouns and adverbs exhibit some of the same peculiarities noticed in the French Creole. The demonstratives *disi* (*this*) and *di* (Dutch *die* demonstr. and rel.) are also the relative pronouns, but are frequently omitted; thus, *da soema disi*, ‘he who’, *sani disi* ‘that which’ are frequently shortened to *disoema*, *sani*; *soema* (*some one*?) being the Creole for ‘person’ and *sani*, for ‘thing.’ The interrogative ‘who?’ is *hoesoma*, *’osoema* or simply *soema*; ‘what?’ *hoesani* or *sani*; ‘where?’ *hoepee* or *pee* (*place*); ‘when?’ *hoetem* or *tem*.